

PEACE NEWS

No. 441 November 24, 1944 2d.

Those extra Christmas rations Views of Food Relief Campaign

No food relief question during this war has aroused so much public concern in Britain as the Government's announcement of increased rations for Christmas while in liberated Europe people are more hungry than ever. People are asking if this extra food can go to Europe instead. Here is the view of the PPU Food Relief Campaign:

THE quantity of "basic foodstuffs" involved is, says the Manchester Guardian, some "two thousand tons." Most of it is meat, margarine, and sugar. Col. Llewellyn, Minister of Food, says that

"far more food has been set aside here for the relief of liberated areas than the very small amount needed for the British extra fare at Christmas. We have set aside quantities for the liberated areas out of our stocks, in spite of the fact that we are a food-importing country. What we have set aside, and what has been set aside in very large amounts on the other side of the Atlantic, come to a very considerable total. . . . In fact, the food for them and the food for our extra fare at Christmas are separate; and we are going to supply both. People in this country can take up their Christmas bonuses, which they have well deserved, without in any way feeling that they are doing so at the expense of the people of Europe."

Are the hungry Europeans going to get a Christmas bonus also? By no means. The stocks set aside cannot be transported and distributed. It is largely a matter of internal distribution, and of shortage of port intake capacity. More plainly, the military monopoly of transport and port accommodation prohibits any substantial improvement in supply and distribution for hungry European civilians.

The fact remains that we are to get more, and they are to get less this Christmas. It is not a matter on which our consciences can rest easy.

THE SORROWS OF UNRRA

Some further light is thrown on the problem by latest news of UNRRA's plans and problems. Director-General Herbert Lehman at his first Press conference in London on Nov. 16 answered questions from a Food Relief Campaign reporter.

Supplies, shipping, and internal transport were the three big problems

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

FOR SERVICES RENDERED

IT is not generally realized how much the circulation of Peace News—to which the normal trade channels of distribution are still closed—owes to the devoted spare-time work of individual pacifists. Most of them have been at the arduous job of distribution for more than four years, during a period when changes of address have been the rule rather than the exception. Many of them are tired; yet they carry on faithfully. Peace News and the PPU owe them an incalculable debt.

I suggest that between now and Christmas their services should be acknowledged and commemorated by special gifts to the Peace News fund. The gifts of the next two lists will express the grateful thanks of the movement to the Peace News distributors.

Contributions since Nov. 10: £7 2s. 10d. Total to date: £5,533 8s. 6d.

THE EDITOR

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MUST EUROPE BE CUT INTO TWO?

Russia goes her own way

ACCORDING to Colliers Magazine, the USA State and War Departments have completely rejected the Morgenthau plan for "pastoralizing" Germany. The sane consideration has prevailed that maximum production at the earliest moment is Europe's imperative need and that Germany alone has the industrial equipment to do the job.

Much the same view is taken by M. Georges Bidault, French Foreign Minister, who besides being a valiant patriot is a reasonable man.

In an interview with the Sunday Times (Nov. 12) he said:

"I don't believe it would do good to convert Germany into an agricultural country, but her industries, and especially the laboratories of her universities must remain indefinitely under Allied supervision. Germany has given us on our own soil a very good example of how to control industries efficiently without making the control too obvious to the public. That method deserves to be studied carefully."

In fact, the technique for the internal control of industry has been thoroughly well tried, both in pre-war Nazi Germany and the occupied countries. It is a technical problem which presents no difficulties.

No real agreement

THE only plans and policies with which Britain and Russia can go ahead are plans and policies which tend to disunity. Both sides make much, in their public utterances, of the 20 years' treaty of alliance: it is (they say) to be the foundation of all their future policy. But they appear to act as though the treaty of alliance did not exist, or at least as though it is unlikely to survive the war.

There is no evidence that the Russian or the British governments feel themselves permanently bound to one another; no sign that they have any sort of agreed post-war policy, or that they feel bound to consult one another before taking crucial decisions.

Disturbing picture

POLAND, Badoglio, Dumbarton Oaks, the Aviation Conference, Persian oil—the facts are interpretable only on one supposition: that Russia still regards her treaty with Britain as essentially permanent. At one time, the optimistic argued (reasonably enough) that Russia could not believe in Britain's good faith, until the Second Front was opened. But the opening of the Second Front has made no difference at all.

So we have the disturbing picture. Russia does just what she likes in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. She vetoes any tentative proposal of an European federation. And when the British Government takes a modest initiative in proposing some political and economic associations of the Western democracies, Russia turns on the heat. Russia may build her own system of regional "security" in the East by her own rather high-handed methods; when Britain begins to do the same, by more customary procedures, Russia regards it as reprehensible.

Communist tactics

THIS is a situation which no-one (except the short-sighted Russo-phobe) can view with satisfaction. It is already in danger of precipitating domestic conflict in France and Belgium, where the Communists threaten the stability of the precarious governments.

If the Communist aim were limited to ensuring that the "Western Union" was integrated with the Russo-British alliance, and that alliance with the proposed World-Security Council, Communist pressure would be reasonable enough. The division of Europe into British and Russian spheres would be a disaster of the first magnitude. But it is obvious that such matters of high policy cannot be settled save at the highest level. If Russia attempts to carry her policy by encouraging domestic opposition by the Western Communists to their own governments, suspicions will be enflamed.

Observer's Commentary

In the circumstances therefore one cannot but welcome the coming visit of Gen. de Gaulle to Moscow. At the same time it seems very strange that the question of Western union should not have been discussed and settled at Mr. Churchill's nine-day conference with Stalin.

Vicious circle

BY all this the honest socialist is painfully embarrassed. Mr. Brailsford, dreading the bisection of Europe between the rival powers of Britain and Russia, suggests a functional economic association of all Europe. "Need this suggestion," he asks plaintively, "arouse the suspicions of the Russians?" (New Statesman, Nov. 18.)

Whether it need or not, it certainly will. Because (as Mr. Brailsford himself argues) the pre-condition of this economic association is that there should be an effective subordination of national forces to the World Security Council. In other words, unless there is political unity between the Big Three, an economic unification of Europe is impossible.

Mr. Brailsford's thought moves in a vicious circle. That is no criticism. So does the thought of every imaginative and responsible thinker who confronts the future of the world. To break out of the vicious circle—that is the problem.

Ideological differences

IT is quite true that if USA, Britain and Russia could achieve a real friendship the peace of the world would probably be secure for long enough to enable the urgently necessary world-organization of peace to take root in spite of all the weeds of nationalism. But the obstacles are still very great. The economic and political systems of Russia and the West are still fundamentally opposed. Russia suspects and fears the West, and the West suspects and fears Russia.

Moreover, the opposition has roots deep in the past—in the cleavage between the Catholic civilization of the West and the Orthodox civilization of the East; the cleavage between the conception of a dualism or polarity between State and Church, and the conception that the Church is an integral and subordinate part of the State. Though Church and State are no longer the effective symbols of the tension in the West, the belief that the individual has another and superior allegiance to that he owes the State has governed, and still governs the political evolution of the West.

Russia's contribution

THE Byzantinism of Russia stems from an equally august and ancient tradition: but it is profoundly different. Whereas Nazi Germany is a renegade from the European tradition, Russia has never belonged to it. The lack of involvement has enabled her to make the most comprehensive and significant revolution of our time—the one revolution that has been built upon machine production. The Byzantinism of Russia enabled Lenin and Stalin to impose upon a feudal peasantry (in the manner of Peter the Great) a revolution whose ideology and machines were the product of the West.

But in the West the machines are indigenous. They have no aura of

strange and incomprehensible sanctity. The tractor is no epiphany of the godhead in Iowa, or even in Suffolk. If the West cannot escape its condition of stasis except by a social revolution, it will not find the pattern of its revolution in Russia.

Nevertheless, Russia is bound to make a vital contribution to it. An event like the Russian revolution (we may be sure) does not happen for nothing. The German (for Luther's was also a revolution), the English, the American, the French Revolutions all left their mark upon the world. The Russian will not fail to do the same—and more also, for the world is far more closely integrated.

"Direction"—new style

THE TUC has now declared that it is "entirely opposed to the continuation of the compulsory direction of labour, carrying such penalties as fine and imprisonment." It is important to realize that this opposition to the continuance of war-time direction does not imply a reversion to the pre-war system; and that it is only the negative side of Sir William Beveridge's more positive view, namely, that a system of indirect direction by withdrawal of benefit in cases of continued unemployment is a necessary corollary of "full employment."

"It should be accepted as a general citizen duty that if there is a demand for labour at fair wages, men who are unemployed for any substantial period should be prepared to take that work and not to hold out indefinitely for work in their own trade and place. This does not imply that there should be continuance in peace of the powers of direction exercised in war. . . . No man should be subject to criminal penalties in peace for refusing work, however unreasonably. But he should not be assisted to be unreasonable by provision of an insurance income. . . . If his unemployment continued, that would be growing evidence of his not being wanted in his trade and place; after a certain time had elapsed, employment at a distance or in another place would be held to be suitable; for him, that is to say, to be employment which he could not refuse without losing his benefit." ("Full Employment in a Free Society," p. 173.)

War resisters in Norwegian "underground"

THE 'War Resisters' International has had an interview with one of its Norwegian members who has recently escaped to this country after working for four years in the underground movement in Norway.

The international learns that members of the Norwegian War Resisters' Movement have been extremely active in non-violent resistance and that many, probably most, of its members have suffered severely as a result of their activities.

Some have lost their lives, a considerable number are in concentration camps and many have been badly tortured.

MOSCOW ATTACK ON "PEACE NEWS"

PEACE News was mentioned in an attack on British pacifists broadcast by Moscow radio recently.

The broadcast, reports a Peace News reader who heard it, consisted of an English translation of an article in the Russian Press by Ilya Ehrenburg, the famous Russian writer. Ehrenburg has lately been advocating a "hard peace" for Germany. Lady Gibb, an English Quaker and pacifist, and a friend of A. Ruth Fry, wrote to him privately on the subject.

Ehrenburg replied publicly in the article which was broadcast. The attack was not confined to pacifists, but included all who were against a "hard peace." In this connexion Ehrenburg referred to "several MPs."

Parts of the article, and a claim by Ehrenburg to have received letters from Red Army soldiers showing overwhelming support for his views, were quoted in the Sunday Express on Nov. 12, which also reported an interview on the subject with Lady Gibb.

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

Stamford Hill 2262

All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

POLICIES OF PEACE

IN a statement which we published last week the National Peace Council, expressing its misgivings at the world-security proposals, declares that the unity of the Great Powers depends not so much upon any agreements that they may come to for the use of force as "upon their capacity to develop a common social purpose among themselves."

The Times, in a leader, elaborated the same criticism.

"No machinery of security will withstand the strain of mass-unemployment, falling standards of living, and social and economic chaos; and the duty rests on all Governments to direct their economic policies, in collaboration with their neighbours, towards the goal of expanding production. The Dumbarton Oaks plan provides the draft of a framework within which policies of peace can be pursued. Neither it, nor any variant of it, can be itself create those policies."

That is true enough. But it is very abstract; and we doubt whether even the writer was fully aware of what he was saying. If all governments were, in collaboration with their neighbours, to direct their economic policies towards expanding production and expanding consumption, we should have already operative a sovereign world-economic organization. Not merely that: we should have world-socialism. For that is the right name for a world-organization for the universal expansion of production and consumption. That may indeed be necessary for world-peace. It is a long way off.

In fact, mankind is now caught between two worlds, "one dead, one powerless to be born." The dead world is that of the free world-market and the *pax Britannica*. The unborn world is the world whose economic and political organization is adequate to the universalization of power-production. The mechanism of the free world-market has long since been recognized as a deadly menace to the internal stability of nations. It disrupts the national economy, creates mass-unemployment, and makes the country dependent on the outside world for its necessities.

Hence, the free world-market has been ousted by a steady growth of economic nationalism: of which the present war is the direct outcome. A world-economy for the expansion of production and consumption presupposes the establishment of a genuine world community, with a common citizenship for men of every race and colour, and as a minimum a universal system of social security. That in turn presupposes an almost incredible development of capable administration and conscientious civil servants from Peking to Peru.

It is idle to talk of common policies of expanding production and expanding consumption unless we are clear as to what they involve. When we see what they involve, we realize how remote they are. World economic organization and planning is so colossal a task that, supposing there were complete political agreement that it should be undertaken, it would take a century to accomplish. But if there were complete political agreement as to the end, the delay would not matter: for world-peace would be secure in the interim. The point is that agreement on such an economic end would be a political agreement; and such a political agreement would be the greatest single revolution in the recorded history of man.

Is no half-way house conceivable and practicable? It is inordinately hard to say. For it is impossible to estimate the durability of the Great Powers' desire for peace. Hitherto the desire for peace has been impotent against the impulses of economic self-preservation. But it is conceivable that, given a sufficient horror of war, the impulses of economic self-preservation may work primarily in the direction of regional federation: in other words that great regional socialisms, full, semi, or demi-semi (roughly corresponding to the Russian, the British, and the American spheres), may be enabled to develop in a period of peace. This precarious peace may gradually grow more stable, as the regional economies grow more capable of mutual assimilation.

A German pacifist says:

The disarmament of Germany alone is not enough

by RICHARD K. ULLMANN

A PART from the economic conditions, the lack of psychology of the Versailles treaty seems to me its most fatal shortcoming. To choose among many instances one which is relevant to the present subject: there is no doubt that Marshal Foch's proposal to give Germany a conscripted militia of several hundred thousand men in preference to a small professional army, was not only the better proposal for international security and Germany's democracy, but also in regard to German mentality. But American and British tradition and feeling prevailed over continental tradition and feeling. While juggling with political, economic and even moral issues, well-meaning peace-planners and peace-makers often violate unknowingly that sense of justice, fairness and satisfaction which is too subtle to be easily caught by paragraphs and articles.

German reaction

If a pacifist is bound on principle to consider the unilateral disarmament of Germany better than no disarmament at all, he should not suppose that the Germans who, like the English, are on the whole no pacifist theorists, would accept such a policy as promising for the future. The average German, after thirty years of war, inflation, Nazi rule and other dire experiences, will hardly be able to see a moral prospect in the unilateral disarmament of Germany. For him, disarmament will be connected

with defeat and British-Russian-American imperialism; and this connection will prevent him from finding a special mission for Germany in his disarmed country's position between Russia and Britain. Even supposing that the traditional fairness of Britain was ready to treat a disarmed Germany with all possible consideration and that (since the problem is not only an Anglo-German one) British diplomacy could solve the almost superhuman task of inducing the USA, Russia and the much wronged European countries to follow her policy: it would take a very long period of such fairness to convince the German that unilateral disarmament is not meant to be a tool of punishment and extortion, but a blessing in disguise. Before he was convinced, he probably would, through inconsiderate actions, have helped to strengthen those Allied politicians who see in unilateral disarmament no blessing for the disarmed, but an opportunity for the disarmer.

Relieve tension

If the pacifist, as a "Realpolitiker," should support the unilateral disarmament of Germany at the end of this war, he should, on the other hand, not try to find a moral prospect for Germany in the continuation of this one-sidedness, but should do whatever he can to relieve the psychological tension by advocating national disarmament elsewhere and the establishment of an international police force. In our days, disarmament does not only

— and a German liberal claims:

Versailles overwhelmed democracy

by FRANZ WOLFF

The writer of the following, Dr. Franz Wolff, joined the editorial staff of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (often described as the *Manchester Guardian of Germany*) in the period 1918-1919, when Max Weber was taking part in the deliberations of the Editorial Board, and thus witnessed at first hand the struggle for liberalism of that time at one of the most representative centres of progressive thought in Germany.

THE article on "Germany and Democracy" in any other paper than *Peace News*, and by any other author than J. Middleton Murry, would nowadays hardly have caught my attention; but I look for *Peace News* like Noah for his dove, and I could not rest content until I had read the book on Max Weber in order to see whether Middleton Murry was justified in his judgment.

The author of the book, Dr. J. P. Mayer, who is not, like so many refugees, a cheap sensation-monger, does not hide his admiration for the great German sociologist; but he seems to have set himself the task of proving that Weber, though a Democrat, had nationalistic leanings, and that his political-sociology is based on the conception of the power-State. When, however, has the securing of power by power-politics not been the aim of statesmen and nations, from Weber down to Churchill and Stalin?

"Weber is not a hurrah-patriot," says Mayer, though he was certainly no internationalist. He formed one of the German delegation to Versailles, in the capacity of expert sociologist, where he decided against ratification of the Treaty, as did other good Germans. The editorial Board of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, for instance, were divided on this question; and Gerhard v. Schultze-Gavernitz, a member of the Reichstag and friend of Weber's, who became one of the leading German Quakers, voted with great hesitation for acceptance, but afterwards regretted it.

After the ratification of the Treaty, Weber concentrated on his academic work, producing two pamphlets ("Science as a Calling" and "Politics as a Calling") of such power that Mr. Mayer says they accompanied his youthful wanderings through the jungles of moral and intellectual embarrassment. Weber's greatness, thus exemplified, is easily overlooked, whilst a few words privately spoken, about his one thought and aim being the reconstruction of the German General Staff, form the text of Middleton Murry's indictment. But it may well be questioned whether, if the Western Democracies in 1918 had made peace with honour and left Germany its General Staff, the world would have been saddled with the curse of Nazism and a second world war.

A true understanding of the struggle by progressive forces in Germany for justice and reason is imperilled if, with Middleton Murry, we accept such doubtful statements by Dr. Mayer as that Weber was the typical representative of the German liberal bourgeoisie, that no other German reflects more fully the political life of his country, and that the Weimar Republic was undemocratic because it had no control over the election of the President. Under the Weimar Constitution the President was elected by the most democratic proceeding possible, viz: the *Volkswahl* or plebiscite.

After Versailles

"To assume that the Germans could create a workable democracy if only they were left to themselves, is to assume what is probably untrue," says Middleton Murry in conclusion. Maybe; but they never were left to themselves to try and work out their democratic salvation. After Versailles they had a hydra-headed monster of insoluble problems to face, together with the sense of injustice and humiliation which dogged them down to the Hitlerite explosion.

There was in Germany after 1918 a broad stream of good will, a readiness for inward revelation of soul and mind. One cannot take up the Year-Books published by the *Frankfurter Zeitung* under the name of *Der Eiserne Steg*, with all their evidence of this good will, and not feel moved by the sense of lost opportunities. In them can be read the story of 1848-9 to which Middleton Murry refers—an effort towards the establishment of democracy from below, proving that the liberal spirit existed and was active, even though it failed at that period in Germany—and elsewhere; whereas Middleton Murry, basing his judgment on the resentment of Karl Marx, implies that because of failure, the liberal spirit was lacking in Germany—but nowhere else.

Let us all remain steadfast in the sense of Max Weber's last words spoken half unconsciously as he was dying from overwork and undernourishment in 1920: "Das Wahre ist die Wahrheit"—"Truth is Truth."

In this article a German pacifist was invited to comment on a suggestion that pacifists would do well not to oppose the unilateral disarmament of Germany, but regard it (and encourage Germany to regard it) "not as a negative and punitive condition, but as a positive one of enfranchisement," which could give Germany the opportunity of mediating between Western democracy and Russian socialism.

imply the absence of soldiers in the street and the use of barracks for more or less slummy blocks of flats, but a continual control of industrial production. Five or ten years after this war, the average German worker would hardly remain reconciled to the presence of Allied "sniff-commissions" (*Schnuffelkommissionen*) in his factory unless they are sent to other countries as well by an internationally organised head-office. It would not even take him five or ten years before he resents their control if one or the other product on which he has been working, was considered "questionable" by the Allied commission and he, therefore, was turned out of work for some time. So it is hardly possible to discuss the disarmament problem without referring to the general economic problems and their psychological repercussions.

But even an international political and economic arrangement would probably not prove a radical solution of the question. After Versailles, the political fact of Germany's unilateral disarmament was less disturbing than the setting free of hundreds of thousands of young and old officers of the army, who had learned little more than warfare and who then, as receivers of state pensions, had time, capability and training enough to embark on all sorts of political intrigues and to found the Black Reichswehr and the Wehrverbände like Stahlhelm and S.A. The mistake of not internationally re-directing their energies towards constructive ends is only one more example of the uselessness of restriction which is not counter-balanced by the opening of healthier outlets. No disarmament, either in Germany or other countries, will ever succeed, if the heroic and warlike trends in human character are not canalized and directed towards peaceful struggle against the forces of Nature or to overcome public emergencies.

Community service

In other words, though I consider that the idea of accepting unilateral disarmament in order that Germany may become the synthesis of the British and Russian ways of life is too abstract to appeal to the German sense of self-sacrifice, I am very conscious that pacifists ought to develop a practical programme for the harnessing of those heroic and unselfish energies to works of humanitarian brotherhood.

There is, however, the serious danger that the chance for such work in the post-armistice period may be spoiled by political and economic interference. After the last war, several groups of young Germans offered their help for the re-building of France, but were refused. The same may happen after this war, if German work is regarded as competition by foreign employers and employees. Still greater is the danger of drafting Germans into compulsory labour services for the re-building of non-German destroyed areas. Certainly, the moral need for Germany to help with the reconstruction of Europe should be brought home very persistently to German youth; but a compulsory labour service abroad would nip in the bud the psychological value of redemptive and self-sacrificing efforts.

Unilateral disarmament for Germany is a foregone conclusion. To make it fruitful for the future peace of Europe, the pacifist should see to it that it does not remain unilateral and that it is counterbalanced by some sort of community service.

Fearless thinking on the problems of today & tomorrow is found in

"The Christian Pacifist"

send 4/4 and become

a regular reader until Dec. 1945
FELLOWSHIP of RECONCILIATION
38 GORDON SQUARE, LONDON W.C.1

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

YOUTH

AS a member of the PPU Youth Committee, I feel that we are faced with two definite problems at the present time.

The first concerns "the specific pacifist contribution" to youth work. This special contribution is usually a subject which arises when we discuss social problems, and only too frequently we find that any answer we can give is not specifically pacifist, but rather a good social method of which we have no monopoly.

Many pacifists are doing excellent work with young people, but I believe that we must give a great deal more consideration to the kind of contribution we want to make and how this can best be done. On Dec. 30 there will be a conference in London for pacifist teachers and youth workers (details in Peace News at a later date), and such opportunities as this can well be used for discussion of this problem. The Youth Committee needs to gain the experience of those who are working directly with young people, and it is from the results of gatherings and discussions of this kind that their plans can be made, and direction given to their work.

Secondly, there is the recommendation which will be brought to the next annual general meeting that young people of 16 and upwards should be entitled to sign the pledge. If this recommendation is ratified, we shall have to consider what the PPU has to offer to young people for the future.

Youth tends to think in terms of black and white—to see clear objectives and to go straight for them, making mistakes, perhaps, but ready to scrap one idea and try another. It may not have very much sympathy for or patience with the complexities through which older people see the problems of achieving the peaceful society.

Such directness and vigour may be the qualities we lack—but are we prepared to accept them from young people? It is rather unlikely that there will be a large influx of young people to the PPU—that itself poses another question—but nevertheless if we do admit them we must accept them on a basis of equality, and in our groups these problems will arise.

BERNADINE CROFT
for Youth Committee.

Salute to ex - Captain William Douglas-Home

— from another ex-officer, DAVID SPRECKLEY

WILLIAM Douglas-Home's magnificent stand has set me thinking.

Someone suggested to me that he was rather a "crankpot," standing first as an Atlantic Charter candidate and then for the Four Freedoms, but I disagreed. I think his line of reasoning has been both logical and right. He has said, in effect:

"I will fight for what I believe to be justice. These two statements represent, or at least could be made the basis for, justice. Although our government has paid lip-service to them I doubt its integrity. Therefore I will attempt to pin it down to a policy by way of by-elections."

He failed in this by the will of the people, and so the first prop which kept him in support of the war had gone.

OUTSIDE Le Havre he forced the issue on a truth that he probably knew already: that not only are the Allies not fighting for any positive

Words of Peace—100

A frontier can be either a wall or a bridge between nations: which depends on them alone. States give and will give frontiers their value. Deprived of all other signification, strategic, economic, social, the frontier is only the line where the nationals of different States enter into contact: maybe to fish in company, or to ignore one another behind concrete and barbed wire. To fix equitable frontiers in a peace-treaty is a formidable utopia because a new war may always arise from the best delineation.

More important than the geographical frontier is the spiritual frontier of peoples. Peace is better assured by mutual understanding than by "good" frontiers. Let us not delude ourselves any more on the value of frontiers; let us not live in the 20th century with obsolete ideas. Peace is a creation of the spirit. Frontiers separate or unite according as the neighbours bring good will to it.

—André Gros: "Les Problèmes Politiques de l'Europe."

justice, but that there must inevitably be injustice on the personal level in actual warfare. The second prop had gone.

But there is yet a third prop which keeps thinking men in support of this war: the belief that justice will come out of the peace, or at least that more justice will come from a victorious peace than from a negotiated one.

I don't know Douglas-Home and I claim no right to interpret his actions, but I believe that third prop must have gone for him too. He is an honest and courageous man who would not have withdrawn from the fight had he not lost faith in the end.

The pacifist movement could learn a lot from his action, and learn most humbly. Our thinking needs such outside influences, and examples to keep it moving.

CONSIDER these three props again: (a) Justice in Allied policy, past and present: that the foreign policy of this country and her allies contained before the war and still contains more justice than those of the "enemy".

If pacifists refute this, can they honestly say that they did their humble best as individuals before the war to try and infuse more justice into their country's policy, and are still doing so? If they can't, then I don't believe they have any right to claim exemption from this war.

(b) Justice in our actions now: that, on balance, there is justice in warfare because it punishes the wrongdoer. This needs no comment, we are not alone in denying its validity.

(c) Justice in the future as the result of our policy and actions: that there will be more justice in the world if the Allies fight on to victory than if they give in or negotiate. This is no easy matter. Let us admit that a non-pacifist nation giving in to a military invader gets no justice.

But our criterion is surely justice to others rather than justice to ourselves, and for posterity all that matters is that most justice, or least injustice, should be done—it doesn't matter who is the giver and who the receiver. I believe, absolutely, that

The Hon. William Douglas-Home was cashiered and is now serving a sentence of 12 months' imprisonment for failing to "proceed to his squadron and act as liaison officer in the battle of Le Havre when ordered to do so." He had been serving as a Captain—afterwards reverting to Lieutenant—in the RAC. In a letter written before he was court-martialled he said he refused to fight "because . . . I could not bring myself to take part in an operation against troops who admittedly did not want to fight but whose commander . . . refused to accept 'unconditional surrender'."

less total injustice would be done if either side laid down its arms tomorrow than if the war is fought out to "victory." That belief has held from Sept. 3, 1939, until now, and will continue. That is why I do not support war.

THE unthinking majority are kept in the war through emotion, and to them Douglas-Home's action will mean nothing. But the thinking minority, most of whom are kept in, I believe, by props (a) and (c)—what of them? He has challenged them in a language they can understand, in a way that we pacifists could never have done.

Yes Lieutenant, most honourably cashiered, you've only just begun. Only those with intense imagination can know the courage it must have needed to do what you did. You probably never knew Max Plowman; he did the same thing before you in 1917 and his are worthy footsteps.

As an ex-officer myself, if I still had my sword I would break it now in your honour and salute you most solemnly with the hilt, after the manner I learnt for many dreary hours on a barrack square.

SEED OF A NEW WAR

At the first of a series of Friday lunch-hour meetings at Friends' Meeting House, Manchester, Mr. Rhys Davies, MP, told a crowded audience that the "foul proposition of unconditional surrender, if pursued, would breed a disastrous European conflict within the next decade."

Forty MPs had signed a Motion in the Commons, urging a declaration from the Government which might lead to a settlement on the basis of the Atlantic Charter. We should try to induce a better Government in Germany—and also here. The Peace would be the better if two or three years were taken in its making, so that passions might cool and reason assert itself.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

TERMS: Cash with order, except for series bookings. Copy by Monday. 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4. We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements. When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

ACCOMMODATION

WELWYN GARDEN CITY. Furnished bed-sitting room, own kitchenette, share bath, offered by woman, busy politics, to educated woman 35-45, exchange part-time house work, fixed hours. Other part-time jobs available. Box 710.

JAMES CLAYFIELD (address under "Work Wanted"), Pacifist World Republican, seeks small furnished bed-sitting room at low rent and invites your support in either cause, to help others, to exist myself. Also thanks friends for appeal tribunal statements.

YOUNG COUPLE would like unfurnished flat or house, Manchester district. Desperately needed. Box 713.

COUNTRY ACCOMMODATION for two (part-furnished) to let. Murray, Green End, Radnage, Bucks. Phone: Radnage 110.

HOUSES, FLATS, etc., available in all districts through the Tenancy Exchange Introductions of the National House and Flat Exchange, BCM/Registry, London, W.C.1. Stamp will bring you full details. Mention Peace News.

EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. (PRI. 5686.)

FOR SALE AND WANTED TYPEWRITERS BOUGHT, sold and repaired. Cook, The Mount, Noak Hill, Romford, Essex.

UNICORN BRAND Foot Paste is the safe and sure remedy for corns, hard skin and warts. It never fails. 7d. per box (inc. tax); 3 boxes post free 1s. 9d. Get it today. We repeat—it never fails. Barker's, Station Road, Sandiacre, Notts.

TABLE MATS. Own initial, carved and inlaid red on brown. Nice Christmas Gift. Six for 10s. 6d. Made by disabled ex-serviceman (this war), now P.P.U. member. Money back if not satisfied. Box 703.

HORNBY TRAIN or tricycle for boy aged 4½ yrs. Reasonable price paid. Edward Johnson, 261 Cherryhinton Rd., Cambridge.

THIS XMAS give etchings or paintings by leading contemporary artists (including Brangwyn, Gill, Russell Flint, John, Nevinson, Lucien Pissarro, etc.). From 1 gn. Box 681.

L. O. BAMFIELD, TAILOR, 37 Union St., Birmingham, Midland 1562, is open for orders for suits, overcoats, and ladies' tailoring. Time for completion, seven weeks.

BURLS CYCLES now at 797 Old Kent Rd., S.E.15. New ladies' and gents' models in stock from £8 19s. 5d. Repairs and accessories. Ring New Cross 4129.

HEDDYCHWYR CYMRU. Welsh Calendars now ready. Price 9d. each. Apply Elysabeth Thomas, 161 Lake Rd. West, Cardiff.

LAMB BRAND Typewriter Ribbons. 30s. dozen. 18s. 6d. six. 10s. three. 3s. 6d. each. all postage paid. Mention models, colours, P.N. Hardmans, 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

LAND AND COMMUNITY

1-3 ACRES LAND wanted rent or buy. "Caravan," Elsinore, Windlesham, Surrey.

FRANCISCAN COMMUNITY (not Anglican) wants members for land-work, book business, etc. Married or unmarried. Postulants for priesthood and evangelistic work welcomed. 10 minutes from sea. Kingdom Books, 51 West Cromwell Road, London, S.W.5.

1 ACRE MARKET-GARDEN, loam, partly cultivated, running water, 2 huts, fronting hard road 4 miles Colchester. £5 quarter. OPPORTUNITY FOR WOMAN, keen gardener, capable sewing, craftwork, earn £4 week. Child welcomed. Windmill, Hullbridge, Essex.

LITERATURE, etc.

"LEARN TO SPEAK" by Florence Surfleet, 1s. 6d. (1s. 8d. post free), for use with groups or individually. Headley Brothers, 109 Kingsway, W.C.2.

SECOND-HAND BOOKS on theology, liturgy, mysticism, psychology, occultism, sociology, pacifism, fiction, etc. Lists or inquiries 2d. stamp. No callers. Books bought. Profits to Franciscan community. Church vestments supplied. Kingdom Books, 51 West Cromwell Rd., London, S.W.5.

IDEAL CHRISTMAS GIFT for humanitarians: "The Stamper of the Skies: a Bible for Animal Lovers." Compiled by Will Hayes from the Scriptures and folk-lore of all peoples. Beautifully illustrated. Boards 5s., paper 2s. 6d., postage 6d. The Order of the Great Companions, Hertha's Chapel, Meopham Green, Kent.

MEETINGS, etc.

TEACHERS' and Youth Workers' Conference at Friends House, London, 11 a.m. to 5 p.m., Dec. 30. Chairman: Alex Wood. Speakers include James Strachan, Friends' Education Committee. Requests for hospitality to Patrick Figgis, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

AMERSHAM. Sat., Dec. 2. All C.O.s and sympathizers welcome at Turret Hall, Station Road, 3 p.m. Entertainments, tea.

ANY EX-PRISONER C.O.s welcome next breakfast meeting Dec. 3, 109 Elgin Crescent, W.11. 9 a.m.-12.

OXFORD. Sat., Dec. 2, 1944. Friends Meeting House, 115 High St. Tea and Social Hour for C.O.s and their wives 5.30 p.m. followed by meeting for all 6.45 p.m. Speaker: A. Joseph Brayshaw on "Effects of Demobilization on C.O.s." Country C.O.s needing hospitality for night write Winifred Cummings, 42 Leckford Road, Oxford.

DOROTHY EVANS Memorial Meeting at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Sun., Dec. 3, at 2.30. Chairman, Sybil Morrison. Sybil Thorndike (poetry reading), Harriet Cohen (piano), Phyllis Vallance (sonnet), Ambrose Appleby, Vera Brittain, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Miss Lyndal Evans, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Dr. Edith Summer-skill.

PROBLEMS OF TODAY and Tomorrow. Patrick Figgis will speak at Village Hall, Jordans, Bucks., on Wed., Nov. 29, at 8.15 p.m. Questions. Discussion. Jordans Famine Relief Committee.

PERSONAL

WOULD ANY string or wind player join chamber-music circle with particular interest for old original music? Write G. Evans, 212 Eversholt St., N.W.1.

PACIFIST PEN-FRIEND CLUB enables isolated pacifists to maintain contact through individual correspondence and exchanging of ideas on matters of mutual interest. Those interested please write A. J. Cook, 93 Melville Rd., Stonebridge Park, London, N.W.10. As scheme is voluntary, stamps etc. for postage expenses would be appreciated.

PACIFIST (WIDOW 50) seeks contact pen friends in Surrey (view companionship). Box 714.

PACIFIST finds it necessary to dispose of holding 130 shares (£1 fully paid) in Goose Green Farm. Any offers to purchase whole or part at par? Box 715.

SITUATIONS VACANT

It is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.O.s, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

PLASTERERS, other tradesmen, and labourers, required for South London house repairs. Urgent. Ring GUL. 2065.

ASSISTANT MASTER REQUIRED January. Private Secondary School (boys). Mathematics and Science to School Certificate standard. Permanent post. Apply Headmaster, Halifax New School, Halifax, Yorks.

WANTED IN JANUARY. House-mother for Junior group. Experience or training desirable. The Beltane School, Shaw, Melksham, Wilts.

YOUNG WOMAN wanted as assistant club leader in North London mixed club, res. or non-res. Particulars from C.B.C.O. Employment Department, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

C.B.C.O. EMPLOYMENT DEPARTMENT has number of teaching vacancies, subjects required include Maths., Biology, Chemistry, Physics, French, History, Geography, English. Details from 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

MEN feeling call to rebuild war's ravages are invited to join S.E. London firm on War Damage repairs houses schools, at full rates, allowances, share of profits. Part-timers considered. Phone GRE 0670 evenings.

RYDE SCHOOL. Wanted—Resident Master to take Science throughout the School and some Sixth Form Mathematics. Games a recommendation. Apply with three recent testimonials and photograph to the Headmaster.

COOK AND HANDYMAN required for small agricultural hostel. Plain cooking, approx. 20 residents. Accommodation. Warden, Rural Hostel Long Buckby, Northants. Tel. 274.

DENTAL MECHANIC WANTED. Must be first-class and experienced in crown, bridge, and inlay work, plastic and cast gold denture, and orthodontia. Write Parrott, Vivary Lodge, Taunton, Somerset.

WANTED: leader or deputy-leader; club-leader (man); and Sunday School and junior girls' club worker (woman); at Kingsley Hall and Children's House, Bow. Also junior mistress for Kingsley Hall School (evacuated), Sarraat, Herts. Any interested please write fully to Doris Lester, Kingsley Hall, Bow, E.3.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED JAMES CLAYFIELD, A.E.U. (7 times imprisoned), again at liberty (unconditional exemption) to undertake accumulator charging, repairs to electric fires, irons, etc., on the premises at Squaredale Works, Coleraine Rd. (nr. Woolworth's), Wood Green.

C.O. SCHOOLMASTER, 32, B.A. Hons. (London) English IIa, Teacher's Diploma. Higher School Certificate English, Latin. Junior Geography, French, History, Maths. General Form subjects. Games and all school activities. 5 years' responsible experience secondary schools L.C.C. evening institute instructor 1938-9. Good references. Land-work 1941-44. Seeks post, preferably English, immediately. Box 711.

MARRIED tractor and lorry-driver seeks responsible position on mixed or arable farm. Experienced market-garden, grain, fat cattle. Box 712.

MISCELLANEOUS ALLYSOL—SEND stamps 5d. for two 20-page booklets of life-conserving information about garlic: (1) a herbal remedy with 5,000 years of history; (2) Rheumatism and Catarrh dissolved at their root. Allysol Company, Fairlight, Sussex.

MR. R. J. BAILEY, M.S.F., 134 Hoppers Rd., Wainchmore Hill, N.21, has been sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment for refusing to obey a Ministry of Labour direction. During his absence his father, Mr. R. Bailey, who has worked with his son, will carry on the practice.

FOUNTAIN PENS: all makes repaired, quick service. 25% discount offered to agents. Write: T.B.S., 310 Kensington Rd., S.E.11.

NATUROPATHIC AND HERBAL treatment. S. R. Martin, 64 Cavendish Rd., Balham, S.W.12. Diplomas in Naturopathy, Botany-therapy. Dietetics. Consultations by appointment only. No treatments undertaken by correspondence. Telephone Tulse Hill 1791.

THOSE CHRISTMAS RATIONS

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

which would face UNRRA when military control relaxed. Although supplies of some categories of food—stuffs for UNRRA's relief work are inadequate, there are serious deficiencies in some of the most vital requirements, including meat and fats, which explains why Col. Llewellyn avoided Miss Rathbone's recent request for an assurance that the extra Christmas rations would not mean that less food would be available to go to Europe.

In the face of this report, the Minister's distinction between the meat and margarine for Britain's Christmas and the "very considerable" stocks for Europe becomes insignificant. That meat and margarine ought to go into the stores earmarked for Europe. It is now possible to see what Lehman meant when he said at Montreal in September that the supply situation could not be satisfactory while civilian consumption remained at its present level.

As to shipping, UNRRA has "not a ton." It must apply to the Combined Shipping Board. There was some doubt as to whether they had even been able to ship to Italy the small relief supplies for limited UNRRA aid to Italian children authorized at Montreal in September. If that is the position of UNRRA, it is probably also the position of the military authorities in their present efforts to cope with the problems of civilian relief; only their supply and shipping deficiencies are probably greater. The fact that British troops in Greece are on half rations (so that civilian supplies may benefit) is eloquent.

CRUX OF THE MATTER

The particular suggestion that the additional Christmas rations should somehow be accumulated and sent to Europe is, perhaps, inappropriate. The large quantities of vitaminized chocolate and similar foodstuffs might be more appropriate, if anything can be transported and distributed at all. But the basic feeling that we cannot accept for ourselves additional Christmas rations unless some equivalent gesture is to be made to Europe this Christmas is sound.

The Food Relief Campaign has in mind a way in which such a renunciation could be usefully carried out. It will not call for such a gesture until the mind of the Government has been made plain.

It is difficult for laymen to know what is or is not within the bounds of practical possibility. But we suggest this. There is in Britain a civilian food reserve four million tons more than normal. Yet we are still importing food from overseas. If the British Government would announce the diversion of a substantial part of this shipping (and if need be of the supplies also) to Europe for, say, the next three months—meanwhile maintaining civilian rations in Britain at about the same level by drawing on stocks accumulated for just this purpose—we should be satisfied that a sufficiently imaginative gesture has been made to hungry Europe.

We do not know in detail how the question of port-accommodation would be solved, but we do not believe that there are now no ports in Northern or Southern France, in Italy and the Balkans at which these ships could be unloaded without serious embarrassment to the military effort. We do not know in detail how internal distribution could be speeded up. France under de Gaulle administration could probably distribute a great deal. In Greece there may now be more food-lorries than food. Everywhere the slender resources of the Red Cross societies would be stretched to the utmost to assist. An increasing use of air-borne distribution is to be hoped for.

It may not happen. In that case the Food Relief Campaign will ask for a symbolic gesture of unity and renunciation from all who share our urgent sense that Britain is not rising to the height of opportunity.

TO PROMOTE "UNITY IN DIVERSITY"

THERE has been held recently on Merseyside a somewhat unusual series of meetings—or, as the sponsors preferred, "one meeting in many parts." It began with the desire felt by some local pacifists to remove a disharmony which seemed to spring from ignorance of the beliefs and aims of others of different approach.

A programme spread out over a month was arranged by a "Merseyside Pacifist Joint Committee," on which the PPU, the FoR, the Society of Friends, the Liverpool Advisory Committee, and the PSU were represented.

The programme, "a first step in an attempt to help pacifists to see whole" the task of peace-making, opened on Oct. 8 with a Peace Service, conducted by the Rev. Sidney Spencer, at Hope St. Unitarian Church. Mr. Spencer said that the task of the pacifist was no less than the remaking of the world. Modern civilization was incompatible with peace, and the mere physical beating of swords into ploughshares—the organization of peace—was not enough. The first and essential step was to foster the spirit which needed no weapons.

At the meeting on Oct. 9, Michael Lee of PSU spoke of the philosophical ideas behind pacifist service. He pointed out that service was complementary to propaganda; it gave pacifists an opportunity of practising what they preached, and an opportunity to pioneer, because PSU worked in fields neglected by other social service bodies.

On Oct. 16, an attendance of about a hundred heard Patrick Figgis and the Rev. Samuel Mason speak of the attitude of the PPU and the FoR respectively to pacifism and the future. Patrick Figgis mentioned two factors of importance to the future of the PPU: firstly, how much it could change its emphasis

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The age of reconstruction

IT is reassuring to see in your recent articles on Germany and our relationship with Germans after the war, a recognition of realities which—to the minds of some readers at any rate—was somewhat lacking in an earlier phase of thought; and it is significant that this is accompanied by a less grim weight of pessimism. On the other hand, recent contributors of articles and letters on the subject of social development appear to have absorbed the pessimism cast off by the more official columns.

May I suggest to the "pessimists" that they read two books which appear to offer a deeper understanding of society and its possible developments and which afford, also, a firmer ground for faith in future possibilities? Karl Mannheim, starting from the base of philosophical sociology and Dr. Scott Williamson and his band of pioneers in social biology, seem to me to be two of the most forward-looking and significant figures of today. Starting from their very different bases and travelling along quite different paths they carry one with them to a view of society and its possibilities which provides—to my mind—a real hope which the "pessimistic" view is too narrow and partial to see at all.

MUTUAL REACTION

"Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction" and "The Peckham Experiment," read together, not only give one a real basis for believing that if mankind will make the effort to readjust it can do so; they also from their different viewpoints, show that man and his environment together, not just "mankind" in vacuo, are the unit which by mutual action and reaction are capable of a natural process of growth and development. In other words one need not despair that "mankind" will have the sense to pull himself together, because the more desperate his environment the greater is the strength of the mutual reaction between himself and his environment: and in a sense,

therefore, the more likely is it that natural growth and development will occur.

The "managerial" or "planning" State has come; and in greater or less degree it has come to stay. It is the task of individuals to see that their individual planning and social planning alike shall be on the level of planned thinking for planned freedom. Only by carrying forward the "technical" attitude of mind which is one of the generative forces which have produced society as we see it today, to the higher stage of a social planning technique for the production of freedom instead of merely machines, can we hope to escape the collapse of civilization which on the surface appears to be either imminent or in process of occurring.

To deplore the managerial State without visualizing its higher development, or to preach a return to the less complex societies of the past, is but crying for the moon in the firm knowledge that you can't have it; and which quite naturally would lead to pessimism.

RONALD G. PERRY

Potters Heath House, Welwyn, Herts.

Joseph Southall

The passing of Joseph Southall leaves the peace movement immeasurably weaker because he was such "a tower of strength." As one privileged to know and work with him for the past twenty years I personally have lost a true friend, philosopher and guide.

He was regarded by all who knew him as the embodiment of all that pacifism means, and much more than most pacifists stand for. He was uncompromising in his pacifism, always logical and incisive in argument; his pen and voice were constantly used to great effect. He was sceptical of "sincere peace-lovers" whom war had scarcely touched even in imagination; scornful of the machinations of pseudo-statesmen, and party politicians; he was ruthless in his examination of causes, and therefore never confused about the effects of war, or misled by the well-meaning efforts to minimize its disastrous results. But, withal, a breadth and depth of mind and manner which made even the enemies of his views respect him as a true friend.

What a wit too! His reminiscences of men and matters, political and pacifist, in Birmingham—the birthplace of imperialism—often added the spice of humour so sadly lacking in pacifist oratory.

A saying of Robert Louis Stevenson sums up my memory of Joseph Southall: "An imperturbable demeanour comes from perfect patience. Quiet minds cannot be perplexed or frightened, but go on in fortune or misfortune at their own private pace: like a clock in a thunderstorm." HERBERT W. WHATLEY
The Grange, Wythall.

Restoring the links

May I bring to the notice of your readers a movement the support of which would, I feel, give pacifists an opportunity to get beyond the realms of the fireside theory of peace-making into the practical role of peacemakers. The movement is called "Young People from Occupied Countries" and its objects are:

1. To invite to this country young people from occupied countries, as soon as possible after the end of the war in Europe, and to find families who are willing to receive these young people in their homes as guests for a short period.

2. To create a "Children's Hospitality Fund" in order to pay all expenses and transport in connexion with the above object.

Inquiries should be addressed to: Mr. J. W. Niemann, c/o Messrs. Walter Harriot and Co., Ltd., Lloyd's Buildings, London, E.C.3.

I feel that one criticism of the scheme is that it does not embrace the young people of enemy countries, and I would suggest that inquirers might, with advantage, propose to the organization that the cause of peace could be better served by so widening its scope.

STANLEY W. RANDOLPH
56 The Main Way, Chorley Wood, Herts.

U.S. opposition to peace-time conscription

PRESIDENT Roosevelt's statement last Friday that he proposed to ask Congress to pass a measure for peace-time conscription was discussed by Clarence E. Pickett, Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, at a meeting of the Central Board for COs which he attended by special invitation in London on Saturday.

Although the training given would probably not be exclusively military, considerable opposition was likely, claimed Clarence Pickett.

COs in the States, he added, were in the midst of a real battle over conscription; and a large segment of the labour movement, as well as a number of religious and political groups, was opposed to the suggestion, while many of the men in the Forces viewed the proposal with disfavour, believing that the voluntary system would get the men necessary.

At present, COs were not pressing for exemption for conscience but were concentrating on the larger issue.

Postal subscription rates: Home: quarterly, 3s. 3d.; yearly, 12s. 6d. Abroad: quarterly, 2s. 9d.; yearly, 10s. 6d.

Displayed advertisements: Maximum size, 3 column inches. Copy by first post Friday.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by "Peace News" Ltd, Printed by Clifford Printing Co. (T.U.), London, N.16.

"LOSE NO TIME" CALL FROM INDIA

From a correspondent

"LIVING in an occupied country like India we are not used to making speeches," said Margaret Pope, just back after three years in India, at a meeting called by Swaraj House in London last week to pay tribute to Jawaharlal Nehru on his 55th birthday. She reminded the audience that such a meeting could not be held in India.

She spoke of the trials on capital charges of some of the Indian leaders which are expected soon, and said the facts must be made known so that the Government of India cannot try them with a high hand.

The message she had been asked to convey by those she had left behind her in India was "lose no time, act now."

Indian, African, Chinese and English speakers paid their tribute.

Speaking for millions of repressed and exploited Africans, George Padmore expressed their hope that Nehru would soon again take his place in the vanguard of the struggle to gain the victory, not only of national freedom, but of social freedom. Ethel Mannin and Fenner Brockway spoke of him as a leader of the youth of India and stressed his international outlook.

"We convey to you our solemn pledge to spare no effort till the independence of India is achieved" was the message sent to Nehru from the meeting.

MORE HUNGER-STRIKES

Hunger strikes have again broken out in US federal prisons. Seven COs at Lewisburg Penitentiary started a hunger strike on Sept. 25. In sympathy a group of six COs at Danbury went on hunger strike for four days, and there were at least two more hunger strikers in other prisons.

The strikes are the result of a long accumulation of abuses suffered by many COs in prison, as well as grievances against the policies of the government.

The quotation from Harry Emerson Fosdick, published on our front page last week, was from a sermon he delivered in America. The Christian World, in which it was reprinted, is a British, not an American publication.

"For many will be an indispensable guide"—P.N.

The C.O. and the Future

6d. (by post 7d.)

All about demobilisation, jobs, etc. C.B.C.O., 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

Workers in Stalin's Russia

M. L. Berneri

88 pages Index 1s. (post 3d.)

"The author documents the book with great care, and uses his authorities judiciously. It is a thoroughly conscientious piece of work which deserves equally conscientious readers." J.M.M. in Peace News

FREEDOM PRESS (P).

27 BELSIZE RD., LONDON, N.W.6

STARVING EUROPE

Would all those willing to forego the extra CHRISTMAS RATIONS write a postcard to this effect to:

Col. Llewellyn, Ministry of Food, Portman St., Portman Square, W.1.

Issued by Wanstead and Woodford Famine Relief Committee, 21 Raymond Ave, London, E.18.

BRIDGE INTO THE FUTURE

Max Plowman's Letters

An anonymous friend has offered to make several hundred copies of the ordinary edition available at half price (12s. 6d.) for PPU members. This special price will be given only by the PPU Bookshop, to genuine PPU members, and only one copy can be allowed to each member.

Because of the limited supply, members requiring a copy are advised to write at once giving a firm order which should be confirmed with cash as soon as publication is announced. Copies will be posted as soon as possible if 8d. for postage and packing is sent, or can be reserved to be called for. But a written order must be given in every case and no copies at the special price can be sold across the counter otherwise.

Should orders exceed the number available for this special scheme notice will be given in Peace News.

To reduce postal costs, group secretaries may arrange for copies to be sent in one parcel to them. Separate personal orders must, however, be made by each member requiring a copy, though it will help the Bookshop if all are posted to it in one envelope.

P.P.U. Bookshop, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1